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ASIAN AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER FAMILIES : RESILIENCY AND LIFE-SPAN SOCIALIZATION IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT

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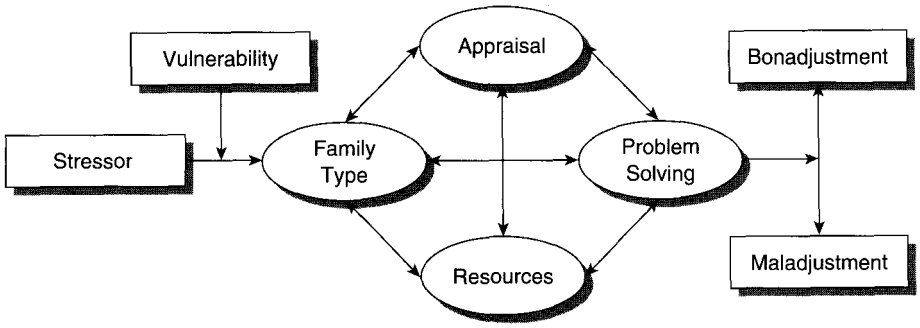
Asian American and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) are often portrayed as a resilient "model minority." AAPI individuals have been described as being well educated and financially stable; valuing hard work and family ties; and exhibiting positive social behaviors. This positive characterization overlooks the difficult life circumstances that some AAPI individuals experience and downplays the very real needs of those who are vulnerable to experiences of discrimination, trauma, or poverty. An examination of the evidence reveals great variation in the prevalence of risk and protective factors and resiliency processes across AAPI ethnic groups (Yee, Huang, & Lew, 1998). In this chapter, we highlight how AAPI families provide protection and diminish risk for family members as they traverse developmental milestones and cope with challenges over the life course. Specifically, we (a) provide a family resilience conceptual framework for understanding risk and protective factors in AAPI families, (b) discuss how AAPI cultures promote family interdependence as a basis for family protective or risk factors, (c) outline key demographic variables that serve as risk and protective factors for



Source: Adapted from the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment, and Adaptation (McCubbin, McCubbin, Thompson, & Thompson, 1998).

AAPI families, (d) address family life-cycle issues for AAPI families, and (e) conclude by highlighting directions for future AAPI family research opportunities and federal family research funding policies.

ASIAN AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER FAMILIES: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Family Resilience: Risk Factors and Protective Factors

In this chapter, we rely on the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment, and Adaptation (McCubbin, McCubbin, Thompson, & Thompson, 1998) to provide a framework for explaining variability across Asian American and Pacific Islander families in response to both normative and nonnormative life changes, and stressful life events (see figure). This model highlights developmental stages, culture, values, interpersonal skills, and family system properties as critical resources on which the family unit may draw as it negotiates change and adaptation over the life course.

Every family has a blend of risk factors and protective factors, and these proportions may change over time. Risk factors are characteristics of the family in a particular situational context that tend to be associated with nonoptimal outcomes (e.g., poverty, chronic illness, or disability, divorce, exposure to community violence). Protective factors are internal or external characteristics that are associated with well-being and optimal development (e.g., financial security, education, social support, strong family communication, spirituality). Resiliency is a process through which families exposed to objectively high levels of risk are able to mobilize resources and maintain healthy outcomes. Resilient families succeed in overcoming the odds that would usually be expected to cause lasting harm to the family unit or its individual members (Luthar & Zelazo, 2003).

From time to time, all families face *stressors,* or demands, that potentially lead to changes in the existing family system. More severe stressors pose greater threats to the family system (e.g., bankruptcy, divorce). The impact of a stressor is also dependent on the existing *vulnerability,* or pile-up of demands, that the family already faces. Two ecological challenges commonly faced by AAPI families are minority status and acculturation. Minority status confers a subordinate position and restricted range of opportunities for mobility and success. In addition to the normative tasks of development, AAPIs must master the stress of "being different" and overcome the labels of being "inferior" or "not belonging." Another ecological challenge for Asian and Pacific Islander families is the tension associated with acculturation. AAPI families must bridge two, sometimes conflicting, cultures, and some family members (typically children and adolescents) acculturate more quickly than others.

Families differ widely in how they react to stressors and vulnerability and whether their

reaction has positive or negative consequences for long-term family adaptation. Family outcomes depend on the interaction between four key family characteristics: family type, resistance resources, appraisal, and problem-solving/coping strategies. *Family type* is the predictable pattern of overall functioning. For example, "balanced" families show strong instead of extreme levels of both coherence and flexibility, whereas "rhythmic families" are characterized by their reliance on routines and shared family time. Compared to other family types, both balanced and rhythmic families are more successful in weathering change. Family *resistance resources* are the capabilities and strengths that family members may potentially call on. These resources are highly varied and include economic or material assets, social network support, intellectual capital, family traditions, role clarity, cooperation, and communication. Family *appraisal* functions at several levels. At the simplest level, appraisal is the subjective assessment of the stressful event, that is, the family's definition of the stressor as an overwhelming versus a manageable challenge. But how the family interprets a single stressful situation depends on broader and more fundamental patterns of (a) family paradigms (e.g., shared beliefs about family functions such as child rearing and balancing work and family responsibilities); (b) the family's sense of coherence (e.g., a sense of agency vs. acceptance of external circumstances); and (c) family schema (i.e, the general worldview that guides the famfly's sense of spirituality and deeper purpose). Ethnicity and culture may be especially operative at the level of family appraisal. Finally, *problem solving and coping* refer to the specific behavioral, cognitive, and emotional strategies that families use to address the stressful situation. Problem solving refers to the plans that families make to alleviate or ameliorate the stressor itself. For example, does the family organize the stressful situation into smaller, more manageable parts? Coping refers to the concrete steps that families take to either remove the threatening situation or maintain and strengthen the families' emotional state and ongoing well-being.

The interaction of these four components (family type, resources. appraisal, and nroblem solving and coping) determines the outcome, or family *adaptation process*. When families are able to change their rules, routines, and/or appraisals in ways that respond to change and still maintain family well-being, then positive adaptation has occurred. Families that cannot change in a positive manner will remain in a maladaptive state of crisis until a new level or reorganization can be achieved.

The resiliency model draws attention to the central role that family strengths, ethnicity, and culture play, as families deal with developmental tasks, adapt to change, and overcome adversity. The resiliency framework reinforces the notion that a sole focus on the negative repercussions of trauma loses sight of the tremendous resilience demonstrated by some families even under deplorable conditions. This concept is reflected in the Chinese ideogram for crisis, which is composed of the symbols meaning danger and opportunity-two possible outcomes of a crisis. Adversity can be an insurmountable barrier or a worthy challenge despite the odds. The following section outlines how AAPI cultural values promote family interdependence, a foundation for protective factors and possible risk factors for AAPI families living in the United States.

ASIAN AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER CULTURAL VALUES PROMOTE FAMILY INTERDEPENDENCE

Although there is much diversity within the broad AAPI ethnic category, certain pan-AAPI values underlie similarities in family practices across AAPI subgroups. Cross-national examinations have identified four cultural themes that are common to Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Southeast Asian, South Asian, Hawaiian, and Samoan cultures:

1. *Collectivism* is the tendency to place group needs and goals above the goals and desires of the individual (Hofstede, 1980).
2. *A relational orientation is* a cultural frame in which the self is defined in terms of its essential

and continuing interdependence with others (Enriquez, *1993;* Markus & Kitayama, *1991).*

3. *Familism* defines a hierarchically organized extended family system as the basic social unit (Fugita, Ito, Abe, & Takeuchi, *1991).*

4. *Family obligation* includes both attitudinal and behavioral responsibilities in which children are expected to: show respect and affection for older family members; seek their advice and accept their decisions; and maintain propinquity, instrumental assistance, and emotional ties with parents across the life span (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000).

The common thread uniting these four culturally relevant values is the theme of family interdependence.

In light of the strong emphasis on family obligation and filial piety, family interdependence is a core issue for AAPI families. A strong kinship system with high levels of mutual obligation provides family members with a clearly defined group that can be counted on to provide assistance and aid (Tseng & Hsu, 1991). Family interdependence can be a powerful resource, but it can also be a source of stress.

AAPI adolescents demonstrate a strong sense of obligation to the family (Chao & Tseng, 2002; DeBaryshe, Yuen, & Stern, 2001). Paradoxically, while a strong sense of obligation can provide motivation to succeed for the good of one's family, strong family demands can also reduce the amount of time that youths can devote to school, thus undermining their academic success (Tseng, 2004). Another feature of family interdependence during adolescence is the delayed autonomy of AAPI adolescents from their parents compared to other ethnic groups (Kwak, 2003). When there is a match between parents and their adolescent children in autonomy expectations (i.e., delayed autonomy), this may foster positive adjustment in Asian American adolescents (Juang, Lerner, McKinney, & von Eye, 1999).

Family interdependence creates ecological challenges in the context of acculturation in AAPI families where individualistic goals may be subsumed by goals chosen by family elders. With increasing years of living in the United States, children quickly adopt American language, values, and behaviors, whereas parents retain their traditional values (Nguyen & Williams, 1989). Discrepant levels of acculturation between parents and adolescents can have negative consequences for family functioning and adolescent well-being (Crane, Ngai, Larson, & Hafen, 2005; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002).

Interdependence issues are salient also for the older generations. Asians (42%) are more likely to assist in caring for or financially supporting parents, in-laws, or other older relatives than are Whites (19%), Blacks (28%), or Hispanics (34%) (American Association of Retired Persons, 2003). Of course, not all elders are in a dependent relationship with their adult children; grandparents and other coresiding relatives often fulfill important functions for the family unit, such as child care and housework. Using extended family members as unpaid or underpaid domestic workers is a practice common among AAPI families (Barringer, Gardner, & Levin, 1993). Thus, intergenerational living appears to benefit the overall family unit, although individual family members often make personal sacrifices for the common good.

A corollary of family interdependence is the need to maintain harmonious relationships among family members. AAPI families avoid displays of strong emotion, including both negative and positive emotions (Uba, 1994). The tempering of negative emotional expression may enhance the stability and socially supportive nature of AAPI family interaction. However, suppression of positive emotional expression, such as verbal praise for successes, may result in AAPIs who lack confidence in their abilities or lowered self-esteem (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). Asian Americans report experiencing elevated levels of emotional distress and symptoms indicative of high anxiety or depression (Wei, Russel, Mallinckrodt, & Zakalik, 2004). The suppression of negative emotions may be a protective factor, but suppression of positive emotions may be a risk factor for AAPI families. Family resilience also depends on the constellation of important family demographic characteristics that describe the vulnerabilities or resources that, are available to facilitate positive family adaptation. The following section highlights important AAPI demographic factors that illustrate the diversity of risk and protective factors seen across different AAPI ethnic subgroups.

ASIAN AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER FAMILY DEMOGRAPHICS

By 2020, the AAPI population is projected to constitute 6% of the total U.S. population (Ong & Leung, 2003). In 2000, 11.9 million Americans (4.2%) were Asian, and 861,000 (0.3%) were Pacific Islanders (Harris & Jones, 2005; Reeves & Bennett, 2004). Persons of Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, and Korean heritage comprise 80% of the U.S. Asian population, while Native Hawaiians comprise 45% of the Pacific Islander group. The majority of Pacific Islanders are of mixed racial ancestry (55%) as compared to 16% of Asian Americans.

Of all racial groups in the United States, AAPI families have the highest percentage of immigrants: 69% of Asians and 20% of Pacific Islanders are foreign-born, as compared to 10% of the overall population (Harris & Jones, 2005; Reeves & Bennett, 2004). The majority of AAPI immigrants living in the United States in the year 2000 entered the country in the 1980s and 1990s, which indicates a pattern of relatively recent migration. In addition to being a small demographic group, AAPI individuals are also geographically concentrated in coastal urban areas; the majority of AAPIs live in only three states-California, New York, and Hawai'i (Barnes & Bennett, 2002; Grieco, 2001).

In terms of socioeconomic status (SES), Asians are relatively advantaged, whereas Pacific Islanders are more likely to be disadvantaged (Harris & Jones, 2005; Reeves & Bennett, 2004). Compared to the overall population, Asians are more likely to hold a bachelor's or graduate degree (44% vs. 24%), have higher median household incomes ($59,300 vs. $50,000), work in managerial or professional occupations (45% vs. 34%), and earn higher wages than the national mean (9% greater for Asian men and 14% higher for Asian women). On the other hand, Pacific Islanders are less likely to hold a bachelor's degree or higher (14%); have lower median household incomes of $45,915; tend to hold jobs in the sales, office, and service sectors; and earn lower wages (16% lower than the national average for men and 6% lower for women). Although Pacific Islander women are more likely than other women to be in the workforce, Pacific Islanders are overrepresented among those living in poverty (18% vs. 12% nationally). There is considerable diversity within the AAPI population, and SES tends to be associated with national origin. That is, South Asian and East Asians are most likely to be more advantaged, whereas Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmong tend to have lower educational and occupational status. Among the Pacific Islander groups, Marshallese have the highest poverty rate.

The AAPI population is relatively young (Harris & Jones, 2005; Reeves & Bennett, 2004). Compared to the U.S. population as a whole, the Pacific Islander population has larger proportions of both children and young adults (ages 0-34 years). The Asian population has proportionately more young adults (ages 20-39), and fewer children (those younger than age 14) and older adults (those 55 and older). However, certain Asian subgroups are quite young. The Cambodian, Laotian, and especially the Hmong populations have very high proportions of children (e.g., 55% of the Hmong population is younger than age 18).

AAPIs are especially likely to live with family members, with relatively low rates of residing alone or with roommates (Harris & Jones, 2005; Reeves & Bennett, 2004). Compared to the population overall, both Asian and Pacific Islander households are more likely to include a married couple (62% and 56%, respectively, vs. 53% for all households). Asians show low rates of single-mother households (9% vs. 12% nationally), whereas Pacific Islanders show relatively high rates of both single-mother (15%) and single-father (7%) living arrangements. AAPI children are more likely to live with both parents than are children of other ethnic groups. Over three-quarters (78%) of Asian children and 58% of Pacific Islander children live in a home with both of their parents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003a).

Multigenerational and multifamily households also are more common among AAPI families. Compared to their Caucasian counterparts, Asian elders who are 60 years and older are three times as likely to live in a household with a spouse and other kin present (34% vs. 11%) and one-third as likely to be institutionalized (1% vs. 3%) (Himes, Hogan, & Eggebeen, 1996). Only 2% of non-Hispanic Whites, but 6% of Asians and 10% of Pacific Islanders,

live with their grandchildren (Simmons & Dye, 2003). Intergenerational living arrangements are more common among recently arrived Asian immigrants than among U.S.-born Asians (30% vs. 4%) (Glick & Hook, 2002). Although coresidence is most common among financially dependent immigrants, at all levels of income and generational status, Asian households are more likely to be intergenerational when compared with non-Hispanic Whites. This suggests that cultural, as well as economic, factors explain the high rates of intergenerational AAPI households.

This review of AAPI family demographics reveals the presence of protective factors (e.g., two parent families with children, intergenerational living, higher SES levels, lower divorce rates, etc.) for many, but not all, AAPI groups. OtherAAPI groups (typically recent immigrants and Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander families) are at risk for poverty, underemployment, and refugee status (Braun, Yee, Brown, & Mokuau, 2004; Yee et al., 1998).

The following section highlights how AAPI families traverse normative family transitions (such as marriage, parenting, intergenerational relationships, and care for frail elders) and deal with the challenges of minority status and acculturation.

FAMILY LIFE CYCLE ISSUES

Asian American and Pacific Islander Marriage and Marital Satisfaction

Marital satisfaction is an important protective factor for both spouses and their children (Gottman, 1998). Cultural scripts and acculturation processes shape who may be considered an eligible marriage partner, what may be the marital role expectations, or whether marriage is based on romance or other factors such as family or financial status of the potential marital partner. An examination of marriage and divorce in AAPI families reveals extensive cultural variations and commonalities in contemporary society.

Romantic attachment is the primary goal in the selection of a marital partner in contemporary U.S. society. This provides a dilemma for recent immigrants whose cultural values may consider other factors as being more important (e.g., financial situation, family status, or as a means to ensure continuity of family lineage). For example, second-generation female Muslim Pakistanis felt conflicted because in America, one was free to choose a marriage partner, but more traditional family members wanted to screen and make the final selection of marriage partners for their adult children based on approval by the family as in the South Asian homeland of family elders (Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002). Interracial mate selection has been used as an indicator of racial discrimination and acculturation; it also is influenced by the availability of potential mates in the community (Fujino, 2000). In the period following contact with Westerners, interethnic marriages were encouraged and fostered in the Native Hawaiian community; this was done to slow the alarming decline in the Hawaiian population caused by introduced diseases, as well as for political reasons (McCubbin & McCubbin, 2005). In contemporary society, more acculturated AAPIs may choose marital partners outside their own race (non-Asian) or among other AAPI groups. (Aguirre, Saenz, & Hwang, 1995).

Marital satisfaction is largely a function of agreement on gender roles and marital expectations, both of which are highly influenced by culture (Lebra, 1976), family schemas (McCubbin & McCubbin, 2005), and family boundaries and structure (e.g., nuclear vs. extended family) (Tseng & Hsu, 1991). Marital conflicts and tensions may arise as a result of differing culture, gender and marital role expectations; disapproval of the marriage from the family of origin; and intrusiveness of in-laws in the family unit (Inman, Altman, & Kaduvettoor, 2004).

Information on marital violence in AAPI families is both scant and contradictory (Malley-Morrison & Hines, 2004). National and statewide studies of victimization and domestic violence rarely report statistics for AAPI National self-reported rates in domestic violence were lowest for both AAPI women (15%) and AAPI men (3%). By contrast, studies with smaller AAPI subgroup community samples show rates as high as 80% and suggest that Japanese, Vietnamese, and South Asian women are most at risk for domestic violence. Many AAPI groups define abuse in a way that excludes emotional maltreatment. The lingering effects

of patriarchy, values related to forbearance and saving face, linguistic isolation, and refugee status have been offered as explanations for widely disparate reported rates or poor detection of domestic violence in AAPI families. To date, no studies have examined whether family interdependence tends to reduce the risk of violence in AAPI families (e.g., closely connected family members may intervene when abuse is threatened) or increase the risk (e.g., family members avoid seeking help from outsiders). Thus, AAPI families can be an important source of protection or a risk factor in domestic violence. The following section describes how AAPI parenting and parental practices may function as protective or risk factors.

Parenting Styles and Practices in AAPI Families

An important issue in understanding parenting in AAPI populations is the extent to which the more traditional aspects of Asian and Pacific Island cultures operate within contemporary family life. Asian American parents have been described as more hierarchical, less democratic, and more controlling than parents from other ethnic backgrounds, particularly when compared to Caucasian families (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Uba, 1994). AAPI parents tend to exhibit less physical affection, praise, and personal disclosure and to hold greater expectations for instrumental assistance and shared family time.

Information on Pacific Islander family interaction is scant. Ethnographic work suggests that Native Hawaiian parents are affectionate and indulgent with infants but are less demonstrative toward older children (Howard, 1974). Children spend much time with their extended family, and caregiving by grandparents, siblings, and other relatives is common; thus, Pacific Islander children have multiple parent figures (Howard, 1974; Korbin, 1990). The explicit use of parental praise or rewards is uncommon in Pacific Islander families (Howard, 1974). Children are also expected to be sensitive to social cues and attend to others' needs and expectations without prompting or acknowledgment (Shook, 1985). Although cultural historians suggest that severe punishment was not part of traditional Pacific child-rearing practices (Korbin, 1990), Pacific Islander children are overrepresented among the ranks of confirmed abuse cases in Hawai'i (Furoto, 1991). Pacific Island parents appear to set a relatively high threshold for distinguishing appropriate punishment from harsh discipline and view parental responses to transgressions as an obligation and expression of concern for the child (Furoto, 1991; Korbin, 1990).

Overall, the literature presents a contradictory picture of AAPI child rearing. On one hand, parents are described as strict, undemonstrative, and demanding. If parents place excessive demands on their children, this may generate resentment and interfere with children's ability to form peer relationships and develop independent interests outside the family sphere. On the other hand, parental control and high expectations for children also are given as explanations for the academic success and low rates of risk behavior evidenced by many AAPI youth. It is unclear which picture is more accurate. Do AAPI parenting practices serve as risk or protective factors for different aspects of children's socioemotional and intellectual development?

A large literature on parent-child relations indicates that child-rearing practices are robustly associated with children's psychosocial adjustment (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Within this literature, much attention has been paid to identifying the consequences of different parenting styles (e.g., authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful). In general, when families within North America and Europe are considered, findings most often indicate that an authoritative parenting style (one that balances warm parental involvement, the granting of psychological autonomy, and nonpunitive, reason-oriented control) is beneficial to children across age, SES, and ethnic group (Mason, Cauce, Gonzales, Hiraga, & Grove, 1994; Mistry, Vandewater, Huston, & McLoyd, 2002; Parker & Benson, 2004; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991) However, there has been controversy as to whether the authoritative parenting style is a universal construct or is more specific to Western and/or Caucasian families (e.g., Chao & Tseng, 2002). Studies of child rearing in East Asia suggest that Chinese and Korean parents exert high levels of control over many aspects of their

children's lives and show more muted expressions of physical and emotional affection (Lau, Lew, Hau, Cheung, & Berndt, 1990; Rohner & Pettengill, 1985) with no adverse effects on child outcomes. Chao and Tseng (2002) argue that it is a misnomer to label Asian parents as authoritarian or controlling. Rather, in these family systems, intensive guidance and training of one's children is both given and received as an expression of parental concern, duty, and love. They argue that parental control has a different, more positive meaning in Asian families.

By extension, one might predict that AAPI parents in the United States may be less likely to use a prototypically authoritative parenting style and more likely to use an authoritarian style. If Chao and Tseng's (2002) cultural compatibility argument is accurate, then AAPI youth should benefit from (or at least not be harmed by) an authoritarian parenting style. Results in this regard are mixed. Some researchers suggest that an authoritative parenting style is indeed less common among Asian American families, especially in comparison to Caucasian families (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987). Consistent with Chao and Tseng's (2002) predictions, unilateral parental decision making is associated with worse levels of behavioral, emotional, and academic adjustment among Caucasian adolescents but is not related to adjustment among Asian American adolescents. In contrast, one study of multiethnic AAPI families found that an authoritative parenting style was positively associated with adolescent self-concept and school performance (DeBaryshe et al., 2005). Differences across studies may be related to diversity within the AAPI population. Acculturated families or families living in the United States for several generations may show parenting styles that are closer to the authoritative prototype, and the correlation between child outcomes and parenting styles may differ as a function of family acculturation.

Sibling Relationships in Asian American and Pacific Islander Families

Parents play a central role in the socialization of life skills and family support network of AAPI families. Siblings may have a vital role in the socialization of younger siblings because siblings or older family members, such as cousins, are the first peers that children encounter. Although siblings provide a source of conflict and sibling rivalry, they can be a great source of support and comfort over a lifetime. For instance, sibling relationships allow younger siblings to practice and sharpen social skills, while nurturing the emotional relationships between family members. These skills and role modeling enhance younger siblings' ability to adapt and function in important social spheres to successfully traverse developmental transitions over the life course.

Cicirelli (1994) found cross-cultural differences in both the definition of sibling roles and the cultural norms regulating sibling role responsibilities and behaviors. For instance, Seymour (1993) found that older South Asian siblings care for younger siblings and teach them survival skills such as personal self-care, domestic skills, or occupational skills. Older siblings were provided parent training skills and served as insurance against early parental death. Sibling caregiving may also have adaptive value in single-parent households and dual-career households, in families that cannot afford babysitting expenses, or in families that do not have adult extended family members to provide these services. Sibling caregiving has been brought by AAPI families to the United States, but it has not been systematically examined.

In a study of acculturative differences across Vietnamese and Korean American siblings, birth order appears to influence the acculturation level of first born versus younger siblings (Pyke, 2005). This acculturation birth order effect was independent of years living in the United States First-born and older siblings were likely to have been afforded higher status, were disciplinarians to younger siblings, and had more traditional viewpoints and behaviors closer to those of their parents and not their own generation in the family. Pyke (2005) described first-born and older siblings as traditionalists because they differed from more acculturated younger siblings who were described as "generational deserters and black sheep." The author argued that diversity in acculturative pathways across siblings may enhance a family's ability to adapt in new cultural environments. For example, younger acculturated siblings expressed relief when older siblings

relieved them of family obligations, felt that both parents and older siblings provided help when needed, felt that older siblings served as mediators between their traditional parents and themselves (acculturated younger siblings), and appreciated when family traditions were maintained by older siblings. Younger, more acculturated siblings served as an effective bridge to the mainstream American culture. Although the different acculturation levels within and across generations may be a source of family tension, it appears that it may also serve an adaptive function for immigrant families. Given that sibling relationships may be one of the longest family relationships that humans may have, more research must be done to examine this important family relationship and source of social support. The following section will describe how AAPI families nurture and shape identity (including gender identity and gender roles) among its younger family members to successfully traverse normative developmental tasks and cope with life crises.

Family Socialization of Identity and Gender Roles

AAPI families play a central role in the socialization of younger family members. During this family socialization process, risk and protective factors play a central role in guiding the development of ethnic and gender identity, autonomy and dependence, language acquisition, and attainment of education and occupational goals. Parents play an important role in the ethnic socialization process of their children. For example, Sikh parents socialize their children by providing messages about the importance of maintaining strong ties to the heritage culture while also encouraging their children to accommodate to the American environment. The adolescents' accommodation of the dominant culture, while resisting complete assimilation, is linked to adolescents' school success (Gibson, 1988).

Families also play an important role in the socialization of gender identity and gender roles. Immigrant AAPI families often experience a disruption in traditional gender roles after migration. Typically, men experience economic and social loss while women become either co-providers or the sole providers for their families (Espiritu, 2001); positive adaptation to such changes requires families to flexibly redefine gender roles. As a strategy for maintaining traditional patriarchal family structures, AAPI families often socialize their children toward traditional gender roles. This is reflected in Asian American girls reporting conflicts with parents about traditional gender roles (Tang & Dion, 1999), dating, and marriage (Chung, 2001). Moreover, Filipino and Asian Indian parents closely monitor their daughter's sexuality as a way to protect their daughters from the "corruption" of American society (Espiritu, 2001; Gupta, 1997). The girls themselves often resent the gender inequality in their families, as daughters recognize that they have less autonomy and mobility than even their younger male siblings (Espiritu, 2001). One way that Asian American daughters respond to gender oppression is to express preference for White mainstream culture, which is perceived to be more egalitarian in gender roles than in their own families (Pyke & Johnson, 2003).

Asian American and Pacific Islander Families and Language Acquisition

Nationally, 82% of Americans speak only English in their homes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). In contrast, 44% of Pacific Islanders and 79% of Asian Americans have knowledge of both English and a heritage language. Two-thirds of those who speak a Pacific Island language and half of those who speak an Asian language also speak English "very well" (Harris & Jones, 2005; Reeves & Bennett, 2004), and bilingual fluency is even higher for AAPI school-age children, at 95% (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2005). Thus, many AAPI individuals benefit from the cognitive and social advantages of being bilingual or multilingual. These advantages include enhanced metalinguistic awareness, or knowledge of the properties of languages; divergent thinking and problem-solving abilities; intercultural awareness and interaction skills; and more employment opportunities (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000).

Loss of one's heritage language is an important issue for immigrant and minority families.

If parents and children do not share a common language in which both are fluent, family communication problems can arise and possibly threaten the quality of parent-child relationships (Fillmore, 1991). When children acquire English proficiency sooner than adults, they may play the role of "language brokers," translating and speaking for their parents when interacting with persons outside of the family circle. A role reversal may occur through this brokering and can be a significant source of stress (Tse & McQuillan, 1996). In the course of brokering, children may be exposed to medical, financial, and other personal information that is not usually shared with youngsters. Children may also feel pressure to make decisions about what kind of information is shared, how to alter the tone of what is said, or whether to even bring school documents to their parents' attention. However, brokering can have positive consequences (Weisskirch, 2005). Youths may take pride in being able to assist their parents, and brokering can improve bicultural and bilingual skills and support the development of a positive ethnic identity. Children who broker may also benefit from the early mastery of practical skills, such as negotiation and advocacy, record keeping, and completing job and loan applications. Overall, it appears that positive individual and family outcomes occur when AAPI families are able to promote strong bilingual skills in their children.

Asian American and Pacific Islander Families, Education, and Occupational Pathways

A commonly held belief among the American public is that Asian nationals and Asian Americans are uniquely driven and successful in academic pursuits. Indeed, as an undifferentiated group, Asian American adults ages 25 and older are almost twice as likely to have graduated from college (44.1%) than the overall U.S. adult population (24.4%) (Reeves & Bennett, 2004). Among school-age children, Asian Americans show either the strongest academic performance of all ethnic groups or are comparable to Caucasian children on outcomes such as grade point average; national assessments of reading, writing, and mathematics achievement; and success in obtaining prestigious science scholarships (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Chen & Stevenson,1995; Kao & Thompson, 2003; U.S. Department of Education, 2005). Furthermore, Asian American children of immigrants have higher grade point averages and show better reading and math performance than native-born Asians of third-generation or higher status (Kao & Thompson, 2003). These achievements have been described as "remarkable" (Chen & Stevenson, 1995, p. 1215) and "exceptional" (Sue & Okazaki, 1990, p. 913) and are cited as one of the main factors supporting the stereotype of the Asian American model minority (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Although there is support for remarkable academic achievements of some Asian Americans, not all AAPI subgroups show equal levels of academic success, nor do all subgroups start from a level playing field. For instance, South Asians are much more likely to attain a college degree as compared to Southeast Asians (Reeves & Bennett, 2004). Furthermore, the U.S. Census (Harris & Jones, 2005) shows Pacific Island adults to be underrepresented in the population of college graduates (13.8% of Pacific Island adults hold a college degree). National educational surveys (e.g., NELS:88, NAEP) include too few AAPI youth to report results by specific ethnicities; however, data from the state of Hawai'i suggests that Native Hawaiian children show lower levels of performance on school achievement tests than non-Hawaiians (Kana'iapuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005), and Native Hawaiians enrolled in the University of Hawai'i system are less likely to remain in college and graduate in a timely manner than are their peers of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino ancestry (University of Hawai'i, ., 1997).

Many Asian American children and parents exhibit values and behaviors that may promote academic competence. Compared to youths from other ethnic groups, Asian American high school students are more likely to enroll in a college preparatory track and take more credits of advanced math, science, and foreign languages (Chen & Stevenson, 1995; Kao & Thompson, 2003). These behaviors appear to be strategies for attaining longer-term goals; Asian American youths hold the highest aspirations for their eventual educational achievement (Kao & Tienda, 1998). Asian American parents are most

likely to expect that their own children will complete a college or graduate degree program (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Mau, 1997; Peng & Wright, 1994). In comparison to native-born Whites, Asian American parents tend to use different educational socialization strategies (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Asian and immigrant parents are more likely to ensure that their child has a place to study, tutor younger children on academic skills, limit television viewing, and specifically discuss college enrollment and college entrance exams with their children (Chao & Tseng; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Mau, 1997). Compared to Caucasian parents, Asian American parents are less likely to help children with their homework, have contact with teachers, or participate directly in the school setting (Mau, 1997). It is interesting that these latter, "hands-on" strategies are associated with better academic performance for Caucasian children but not for Asian American children.

Overall, the generally positive educational outlook for Asian American youth seems best explained by two circumstances. First, Asian American youth from families who have long resided in the United States tend to come from advantaged backgrounds; they come from wealthier homes, are more likely to attend high-performing schools, have parents who are more highly educated, and are more likely to live in intact families than are children from any other ethnic group (Chen & Stevenson, 1995; Peng & Wright, 1994). It is not surprising, then, that these children show educational trajectories that are similar to those of middle- and upper-middle-class Whites. Second, children of immigrants share their parents' belief in education as path to self-betterment; this motivates first- and second-generation youth to work especially hard, even in the face of obstacles such as low English proficiency, family poverty, or substandard schooling. Most often, when family socioeconomic advantage, youth educational motivation, and study behavior variables are controlled, the Asian achievement advantage is reduced or eliminated (Chen & Stevenson, 1995; Kao & Thompson, 2003; Kao & Tienda, 1995, 1998; Peng & Wright, 1994); this suggests that these variables are of causal status. In the future, more attention should be paid to the educational progress of Pacific Islander and Southeast Asian children and youth. Because these groups are small in number, it is easy to overlook their needs and focus on the oversimplified characterization of monolithic Asian American academic success.

The empirical literature suggests that the family plays a significant role in helping AAPI youths and young adults choose certain occupational pathways; this is especially true among less acculturated families. Immigrant families have perceptions about which occupations will more effectively ensure economic viability of the family and strongly encourage pursuit of these occupational careers by younger family members (Castelino, 2005). Tang, Fouad, and Smith (1999) found that Asian American career choices are influenced primarily by acculturation, family influences, self-efficacy, and interest. Leong and Hardin (2002) found that less acculturated Asian Americans, with stronger collective and interdependent self-construals, were more influenced by family input, whereas personal interests and individual strengths more strongly influenced career decisions among more acculturated Asian Americans. Among immigrants with limited education, job skills, and English fluency, there are greater employment options for women (e.g., garment, microelectronics, social service industries) than for men (e.g., production, distribution of goods). This produces a shift in status, power, and control between the sexes and increases the potential for family conflict (Clement & Myles, 1994; Espiritu, 1999; Kibria, 1993; Ui, 1991; Williams, 1989). Although AAPI women are still seen as holding primary responsibility for the care of home and children, there is evidence that men are assuming greater family responsibilities.

AAPI families influence occupational choices of younger family members; however, acculturation tempers the strength of that influence. Strong AAPI family influence over career choices could be a risk factor by limiting possible career choices to those careers that may not match the interests or talents of the family member. AAPI families may be protective by steering younger family members to careers that will enhance the financial success of the family. AAPI families influence decisions regarding marital, parenting, educational, and occupational choices of younger family members, and they

also have a central role making family decisions regarding the lives of older family members.

Asian American and Pacific Islander Families and Elders

Traditional Asian and Pacific Island cultures endorse filial piety values and behavior. With acculturation, however, there may be an ambivalent endorsement of filial piety (Antonucci, Akiyama, & Landsford, 1998). AAPI elders serve as a family resource while they are healthy, but they may be a source of burden or family risk when their health fails. Providing care to a frail family member is a very stressful time in family life. Takamura, Nitz, and Haruki (1991) found that 20% of Hawai'i government employees provided help to an older frail family member, and AAPIs were overrepresented in the caregiver group as compared to Caucasians. Although AAPI caregivers felt overwhelmed and confined, they also regarded this responsibility as an opportunity to fulfill family obligations and demonstrate filial piety.

Conditions in the near social context (i.e., household and community) influence how long elders are able to function independently as their health declines. Ikels (1983) found that healthy Chinese elders in Hong Kong and Boston ran the household so that younger household members were free to engage in money-making activities. When their health started to fail, the Chinese elderly in Hong Kong could function by themselves or through neighborhood supports (i.e., ready access to shopping, medical treatments of choice, and speaking a common language) to a greater degree than Chinese American elders in Boston. Yu, Kim, Liu, and Wong (1993) found that more traditional desires among Chinese and Korean American elders (i.e., living with one's family) increased as the elder's health declined. Although Asian American families have become more accepting of the institutionalization of their elderly relatives, they are still more reluctant to do so than the general population (Watari & Gatz, 2004). This reluctance is overcome when behaviors such as violence or emotional outbursts, wandering, incontinence, or secondary illnesses overwhelm the family's ability to manage everyday functions (Morton, Stanford, Happersett, & Molgaard, 1992).

While most of our current notions about AAPI family caregiving come from a few studies on Chinese and Japanese American families, our conclusions may not generalize to other AAPI families. For instance, after years of caring for their grandchildren, South Asian elderly women found it difficult to ask for their family's help in dealing with chronic illnesses or financial assistance. A fear of isolation was expressed by the South Asian elderly women with limited English proficiency and financial resources as they became less mobile due to poor health (National Asian Women's Health Organization, 1996). A high incidence of independent living among this South Asian sample suggested that appropriate aging services must be established because their families may not be willing or able to provide these services.

More traditional AAPI families may consider it their responsibility to care for their elderly relatives and may be less likely to seek professional caregiver respite and supportive services. Elder abuse may occur when immigrant families' resources are stretched beyond their capacity to care for frail and vulnerable family elders. In a rare study of elder abuse, Moon and Williams (1993) found that when presented with hypothetical situations, Korean American elders perceived less abuse and defined it more narrowly than either African or Caucasian American samples. Moon and Williams suggested that Korean American elders were not only less likely to seek help but were also reluctant to reveal "family shame" to others and feared creating family conflict as a consequence of divulging an abusive family situation to outsiders.

AAPI families struggle with advanced directives and life support decisions when a family member is dying. Lifesaving techniques may be considered violent or inhumane interventions that disrupt the natural dying process. Life support decisions may be influenced by cultural beliefs regarding WHO (i.e., God, patient, patient's family, the doctor), WHEN, and HOW (active or passive) interventions are to be used to prolong or end life (Klessig, 1992). Culture also prescribes the rules for disclosure (truth telling) of terminal health diagnosis and prognosis and the role of the family in making medical decisions. The Asian family imperative of filial obligation is to protect the patient (Orona,

Koenig, & Davis, 1994), maintain hope, and ensure a "good death" (i.e., dying peacefully in old age surrounded by family) because "bad deaths" create shame for the entire family (Muller & Desmond, 1992). These decisions are complicated by cultural, linguistic, and communication barriers between AAPI families and medical personnel.

Der-McLeod (1995) found that culturally competent requests for advanced directives and life support decisions can be made with frail Chinese elders and their families within an established trusting relationship prior to development of a health crisis. These investigators found that family members were often relieved that their elderly relative made a decision, because they no longer had that responsibility. Nishimura and Yeo (1992) found that more highly acculturated Japanese Americans expressed a desire to have control over their own health care decisions. In contrast, McLaughlin and Braun's (1998) study, AAPI elders believed in the collective wisdom of their family and health professionals to make the correct decision.

ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER FAMILY RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES AND POLICY CHALLENGES

There are many research opportunities to explore the diversity of AAPI family processes and outcomes over the life cycle. First, advancement in the study of AAPI families has been misdirected and curtailed by the bundling of Asians and Pacific Islanders into a single ethnic category. As this chapter demonstrates, findings that hold for one particular AAPI ethnic group do not necessarily apply to other ethnic groups. Research on multiethnic AAPI families (i.e., families of mixed racial or ethnic heritages) is especially scant.

Second, we must examine how AAPI families cope with normative and nonnormative lifespan developmental hurdles that expend the resources of even the most resilient families. In terms of family life-cycle issues, little is known about how parenting practices in AAPI families may vary as a function of national origin, immigration status, and acculturation level, and whether specific parenting strategies have different functional effects for different AAPI subgroups. We note an almost complete absence of research on normative sibling and marital relationships in AAPI families. At the later end of the life cycle, we need more information on the ways in which AAPI elders make contributions to their families and communities. In addition, we need to better understand the factors that influence AAPI family decision making concerning the care of frail elderly family members. We need to know how professional services can become culturally responsive and can successfully support AAPI families in their efforts to care for dependent family members.

More attention needs to be paid to those AAPI families that do not fit the model minority stereotype-families characterized by low academic achievement, marital distress, or youth delinquent involvement. We also need to know more about linkages between different contexts of development in families. For example, how do school-family contexts or work-family contexts interact to influence the development of AAPI families? Finally, room remains for additional studies of the AAPI acculturation process. We need to better understand how acculturation to the American cultural context, through socialization and enculturation, produces adaptive strategies that enable immigrant AAPI families to succeed. In addition, there is too little work on how these same processes operate across second-, third-, and fourth-generation AAPI families and families of mixed heritage.

Third, more progress can be made by psychologists in the development of culturally competent and responsive family measurement and research methodologies for AAPI families (e.g., Whitborne, Bringle, Yee, Chiriboga, & Whitfield, 2006). There is an absence of family assessment or measurement tools to conduct AAPI family research, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Inman, Ladany, Constantine, & Morano, 2001; Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000). Cultural and shared beliefs of AAPI populations have not been examined. Cross-sectional research designs allow a narrow glimpse of family processes, but much can be gained by examining family processes over time. "Gold standard" family methodologies (i.e., videotaping family interactions) may be problematic because cultural factors (i.e., saving face and

shame in public) may confound and call into question the validity of these data for AAPI families. Qualitative methods may be undertaken to understand how families construct meaning in their lives and make causal attributions and decisions in their lives. The basic AAPI family development research has lagged far behind, and we cannot move forward until these family research infrastructure steps have been taken (Yee et al., 1998).

Fourth, we must examine federal research policies that have created the lack of an AAPI family research infrastructure in the United States. The model minority myth and an overrepresentation of Asian American investigators conducting basic research in the biomedical and physical sciences (which has led to an exclusion of Asian American trainees in the National Science Foundation portfolio) have reinforced the mistaken notion that there is a sufficient AAPI family research infrastructure. Targeted AAPI research center grants would promote the formation of a critical mass of investigators working on AAPI family research tools and expand AAPI research resources such as the training of students and postdoctoral researchers from underrepresented AAPI groups.

We cannot be discouraged by the size of the gaps in AAPI family theory, research, and measurement, because this situation cannot and will not be remedied overnight. However, psychology can make major contributions to answering this question: How do AAPI families provide protection and diminish risk for their family members as they traverse developmental milestones and cope with life challenges over the life course?

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